6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

## ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

**Rituals and Relatives:**

**A Study of the Social Uses of Wealth in Morocco**

**by**

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121 556 In industrial society the use of wealth to meet the needs of relatives or rituals is marginal and secondary to total expenditures. By contrast, such expenditures in a nonindustrial society may be the most important manner in which wealth is allocated. 121 556 Production in such societies is aimed primarily at satisfying needs arising from the activities and responsibilities induced 433 by social and religious obligations. Distribution seeks to maintain the continuation of these activities and of the social relationships that they establish.

This study is an examination of how wealth is distributed in the Berber society of the Rif Mountains in Morocco. The fundamental feature of [554] the Rif economy is that it is based on status. The economy is one in which the deployment of resources rests primarily, though not exclusively, on imperatives derived from social factors. Exchanges, transfers, or consumption not directly

121 related to subsistence are dictated by a different order of
556 practical considerations and ideological commitments than
433 obtain as the dominating factors in industrial society.

121 It has been an on-going dispute in anthropological
114 literature about whether such an economy as that of the Rif
433 is susceptible to the same sort of treatment that marks the study of market-oriented, industrial society. Polanyi began the dispute by pointing out that the rules of choice upon which most economic theory rests are based on a particular social and economic model which has only limited applicability. He noted that the economic behavior of the participants of an industrial society was largely induced by the institution of the market. The difficulty in such economic analysis comes, of course, when we study societies in which the market is not the primary focal point of the economy.

121 In Rif society the marketplace is peripheral to the
433 economy. This condition is due in part to historical and
443 ecological factors which have influenced the evolution of a particular kind of social organization in which each local community has grown inwardly dependent on its own social and economic resources. The Rif has, until recently, been part

121 of the bled-as-siba, or the land outside the administrative
433 control of the Moroccan government. Thus, one of the major
642 social factors in the history of the Rif was the absence of centralized political authority. This lack of a political factor in integrating the economy has directly influenced the

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121 433 642 system by which resources are distributed. In the absence of such a factor, the economy developed as a reflection of the social organization wherein well-being depended on relatives, friends, the good-will of the spirits and God, all supporting one another.

121 [126] The data upon which this study is based were collected from two villages in adjoining tribes in the Central Rif. The economy of individual families within the villages was studied, as well as how these local communities articulate with each other and with the wider Moroccan social and economic structure. The principal foci of the investigation were the reciprocal relations between kinsmen and neighbors, the relation of property to prestige, ritual obligations and magical predilection, and the general effects of the indigenous system of social relations on the consumption and distribution of resources.

121 and desert areas remained politically distinct from the Sultan's
105 regime. These areas, of which the Rif was one, were called the
bled-as-siba, or the land of insolence. In such areas there was
[571] no centralized political authority and whatever small degree of
security that existed came from a system of social relationships
whereby mutual assistance was expected and granted. The absence
of political integration at any higher than the local kin and
residence group was paralleled by an absence of extensive economic
121 integration. Not only political success but economic well-being
105 as well depended on relatives, friends and neighbors all support-
571 ing one another. Out of this developed an economic system based
602 on status. By "status" I mean an economy in which the deployment
433 of resources is based primarily, though not exclusively, on imper-
556 atives derived from social relationships and religious obligations.
In such societies wealth is expended on ceremonial activities, on
reciprocal obligations, on the gift and countergift. In an indus-
trial society there are analogous ceremonies and celebrations in
which wealth is spent on relatives and ritual. However, such
expenses are marginal to the amount of total outlay. Such expen-
ditures have proportionately little effect on the sum total of
wealth in comparison to expenditures connected with rational pro-
duction. By way of contrast, in a nonindustrial society social
expenditures of wealth can be the most important way in which
121 wealth is utilized. In a society heavily dependent on local ties,
105 on kin alliance, on neighborhood association, social activities
571 tend to be the essence and breadth of the group. Production is
602
433

121 aimed primarily at satisfying needs and obligations which arise
105 from these activities. Distribution supports the continuation
571
602 of these activities and the social relationships that they help
433 establish.

121 The central problem I have set for myself is to describe
128 and explore all actual uses of wealth and types of exchanges in the Rif. To the economist orientated towards the analysis of the set of economic variables in an industrial society the method used here may seem distant from his customary procedure. There are few charts and no graphs. Whatever quantification that has been achieved is the result of rough scaling. Yet such estimates can give us an idea of the proportionate percentage of goods used for subsistence, for ceremonial purposes, for cash from the market, and so forth. By analyzing the relative importance of each type of expense one can grasp the dynamics by which the system is driven.

121 As I shall point out in the body of my thesis, the condi-
433 tions in which this economic system developed lie in the fact that
571 the Rif was part of the bled-as-siba and, as such, it was soci-
602 ally, politically, and economically detached from the rest of Morocco. Under such circumstances, the Rif society developed its own system of exchanges as a relatively successful adaptation to the absence of political integration. While political condi-
[178] tions have radically altered over the past few decades, the social relationships, traditional obligations and expectations have remained as major organizing principles of the Berber society.

121 Production and distribution continue to be geared to a series of
433 goals arising out of the status economy. These goals involve
128 obligations attendant to life crises (Chapter 3), incumbent on the correct religious performer, or to placate the spiritual world (Chapter 4), to enhance status and/or acquire allies (Chapter 5). The relationship of the Riffian to the marketplace is described in the final chapter.

101 The field work upon which this study is based was carried
114 out in the Province of Alhucemas in northern Morocco between June of 1965 and November of 1966. The initial month and a half was spent in the port city of Alhucemas arranging necessary papers and working on the local Berber dialect. The following six months were spent among the Beni Wariyaghar in a location of scattered homesteads on the Wariyaghar-Igzinnayen border. The first quarter of 1966 was spent recovering from illness. May to October was spent in a compact village in the tribe of the Ibuqquyen. Field work was terminated in November.

231 There are practically no communal events,
796 and few pertaining to individual life crises, which can be accom-
782 plished without the sacrifice of an animal. Perhaps this social
231 and ceremonial significance of animals among a sedentary, horti-
182 cultural people can be explained by the fact that they live by a
[771] religion whose manifest forms of spiritual observation developed among pastoral transhumants. I do not mean to imply that goats and sheep are as important in the lives of the Berbers as are camels to the Bedouin or cattle to the Nuer. The economic base of the Riffian is perhaps too diversified for such psychological domination to take place. Nor were there the same sort of feuds between goat herdsmen as exist with camel or cattle. If, however, we regard livestock as merely secondary food sources in the economic sphere, we shall miss its importance to the social life and institutional structure of the Rif and hence misevaluate its true economic significance.

121 In the discourse which follows I shall be dealing with economic units of extremely small scale. To a reader oriented to the scale of economic transaction which takes place in post-industrial society, the examples used may seem irrelevant to an examination of economic organization. My problem, nonetheless, impels me to use such examples. Waterson (1962:4) estimates that
433 the annual per capita output of the fellah in traditional
435 Moroccan agriculture is 30,000 francs or $60. In the Rif,
[171] which is regarded as one of the poorest sections of Morocco,
231 the figure is probably lower. Yet my data on the average prices
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454 Just as acquiring the capital for an investment has its own distinct forms, the actual investment itself appears to be motivated more often than not by social incentive rather than by profit. Aside from such investments as were mentioned in Chapters 3 and 4, we encounter investments which have, from the standpoint of industrial ideology, a more utilitarian aspect. Thus, an extra mule or an ox can raise the level of productivity of its owner. What more often occurs, however, is that in the case of such prestige-laden animals, their effect is primarily in the role of prestige and only secondarily in production. Perhaps the most dramatic representation of such investment are the animals which are purchased during the summer months. It is during this period that traveling is at its optimum, and owners leave their newly acquired livestock grazing conspicuously along the roadside for the public to observe. Unfortunately, work animals serve almost no productivity function during the summer months. With the commencement of winter, fodder supplies decrease and it becomes necessary to sell the extra animal before it can be put to a utilitarian purpose.

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256 435 472 [376] Another example of the primacy of the social incentive is the business of milling. The turbine wheel mill powered by water is one of the few nonagricultural enterprises which the fellah engage in. The operation of a mill in the Rif bears little resemblance to the operations of a firm as a profit-making organization. In the first instance, cost for the service of a mill is not determined by any market factor, but by custom. The owner of

442 profit not from dispersing goods in the same marketplace but in
571 transporting the goods from one region to another.
[443]

Large-scale buyers interact with small-lot sellers in a limited range of goods which, generally, can be transformed by industrial processes into another commodity (grapes to wine, almonds to cosmetics, oranges to canned fruit), the conversion of which enhances the value of the original object. These buyers are plugged into a larger economy with export connections and are
442 sensitive to external conditions. Tribesmen who produce in order
433 to meet the demand of such buyers are likewise closely connected
434 with the national and international economy. There is a small but growing number of fellah who produce to sell to this group, but even among them there is a reticence to move completely into the commercial sector. My impression is that the great majority of the Riffian peasantry engaging in cash-cropping attempt to maintain a balance in their production schedule which continues to include a fair proportion of traditional crops. By generalizing their production, few of the grape specialists suffered from
[458] the decrease in prices during 1965. This contrasts with the one-
[435] crop estates in Algeria which during the same period suffered severe setbacks.

443 The small-scale sellers of both goods and services occupy that position which is left open by the unwillingness of the local Berber to engage in full-time commerce and the absence
[434] of the large-scale entrepreneur. They are, on the one hand, dealing in commodities or services the margin of profit on which

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3



611 Descent is patrilineal, and the number of paternal relatives a Moroccan can remember is always greater than the number on the mother's side.[5]

7 565 184 The important details of social stratification show little variation within the northern zone. Real or alleged descendants of the Prophet constitute the highest class. Among tribesmen, the most respected and important class is composed of gentlemen farmers. At the bottom of the scale are blacksmiths, market weighers and criers, musicians and dancers, and tinkers or other itinerant artisans. The Jews, regardless of their profession, are lowest in the scale.

621 184 Besides these aspects of religion and social organization, there are many features of settlement and livelihood that show little variation within the northern zone. The basic unit of settlement is the hamlet or farmstead. Settlements of more than a few hundred inhabitants are rare. For every farmer who grows cash crops there are at least a hundred others who are concerned only with their own or community needs. In all Morocco, subsistence farming and barter govern rural economy, and trading takes place at weekly markets held in the open air.

241 433 [437] [443] One of the clearest expressions of cultural diversity is the division of northern Morocco into zones of Arabic and Berber speech, a division which coincides with other cultural frontiers. Generally speaking, the eastern half of the area (Rif, Garet, Gal'aya) retains Berber speech, whereas the western half (Jbala, Ghmara) has been Arabized. The historical and cultural factors that have brought about this division will be considered in chapter iii.

175 631 648 A state, by minimum definition, is an extent of inhabited territory presided over by a government capable of asserting its authority. During most of its history, Morocco was hardly a state in this sense of the word. One of the important themes of Moroccan history is the division of the country into lands of government (*bilad al-makhzen*) and lands of dissidence (*bilad as-siba*). The belligerence of the free tribes was based not only on their hatred of taxes[6] and authoritarian order but also on their inability to conceive of any social or political unit larger than the tribe or confederation of tribes. Most of the Rif was part of the land of dissidence.[7] Jbala and Ghmara formed an intermediate zone, neither submissive nor openly rebellious in the face of domination from without. The plains of Wad Lukkus and the Gharb were easier to subdue.

619 628 [648] [571] [616] [712] Dissidence was expressed in intertribal and intratribal conflict as well as in opposition to the central government. In most of the Rif, and especially in Aith Wariyaghar, quarrels over ownership of land, water rights, and personal affronts led to blood feuds of extraordinary savagery. Some feuds did not end until one of the participating families was exterminated. Feuding and the necessity for defense gave rise to a complex system of alliances based in part upon moieties. In the days before the Spanish occupation, each house in Aith Wariyaghar had

[5] In popular writings Berber society is sometimes described as being influenced by matriarchy. This assumption is based upon the fact that Berber women are much more active and unabashed than the Arabized women of the towns; it is based also upon the tradition that the Garmantians were led by a queen or prophetess. E.-F. Gautier, "The Monument of Tin Hanan in the Ahaggar," *Geog. Rev.*, 24 (1934), 439–443. [113]

[6] *Makhzen* comes from the verb *khazana*, "to lock up" or "to hoard." The word is synonymous with "government" and more especially with the treasury department. E. Michaux-Bellaire, "Makhzen," *Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1913–1938). [113]

[7] Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 380–381. [113]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4



The introspective character of rural Morocco is enhanced by the weekly trading market or *suq* (plural *aswaq*). These markets attract urban merchants, craftsmen, and entrepreneurs, but their principal function is to serve as outlets for the products of local specialization. One family comes to market with a basket of figs, and another with a pannier of walnuts. After an interval of haggling, each leaves with the specialty of the other. Exchange of this sort helps to add variety to the diet, and encourages an intelligent appraisal of local conditions of soil and climate. Staple foods seldom enter into this exchange. The goal of each community is to be self-sufficient in breadstuff. A few commodities, such as sugar, salt, tea, and kerosene, are imported from the cities, but the chief function of the weekly market is to satisfy the modest wants of dispersed communities engaged in subsistence agriculture.

Markets are held in the open, at predetermined sites that are deserted during the rest of the week. In each tribal area one or more sites are reserved as market places and named as follows: *had* (Sunday), *tnine* (Monday), *tlata* (Tuesday), *arba* (Wednesday), *khemis* (Thursday), *jema* (Friday), and *sebt* (Saturday).[a] On the morning of the appointed day, streams of people converge on the market place. The *suq* is much more than a market in the economic sense of the word; it is also a social and political assembly of great importance in tribal life. Market day is the time for legal transactions and all manner of negotiation. By nightfall tribal authorities have resolved most of the problems of the week.

There is great variation in the size and influence of markets. In 1949 authorities of the Spanish protectorate made a study of the volume of business transacted at each *suq*. About a hundred markets were located; the annual volume of business, including barter, averaged about 10,000,000 pesetas per market. About a fourth of the markets had an annual business estimated at more than 65,000,000 pesetas (table 5). Most of the larger or regional markets are in the populous Rif (fig. 24). In the sparsely settled area of Sanhaja as-Srair, only one market, Tlata Ktama, serves as a trading center for more than one tribe. Khemis Izagan (pl. 7, *b*), with trade estimated at 3,000,000 pesetas, is typical of the smaller local markets.

Each market has four main functions: (1) distribution of local products, (2) exchange of rural surpluses or specialties for urban goods, (3) circulation of articles such as pottery and millstones from villages which specialize in making them, and (4) dissemination of foreign imports. The larger markets differ from the smaller in their greater emphasis on the latter two functions. Moreover, the larger markets are usually located at the convergence of communication lines and on the frontiers of complementary production zones.[b]

## Emigration

Unfortunately, the weekly markets do not compensate for uneven distribution of population and productive land. Few communities are able to accumulate

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 93)

[a] On French maps the names of the days of the week appear as *had, tnine, tleta, arba, khemis, djemaa,* and *sebt;* on Spanish maps the usual spellings are *had, tenin, telata, arbaa, jemis, yumaa,* and *sebt.*

[b] On the location and function of markets and the changes caused by recent improvement in communications, see M. W. Mikesell, "The Role of Tribal Markets in Morocco," *Geog. Rev.*, 48 (1958), 494–511.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2



surplus food for lean years. Many tribesmen, especially the Rifians and the inhabitants of Garet and Gal'aya, live under the constant threat of famine. Every failure of the cereal crop causes great suffering. Even with resources developed to the limit, these areas would still be unable to provide full employment or full nutrition for their expanding populations. The rate of population growth through-

TABLE 5

VALUE OF TRADE AT REGIONAL MARKETS IN 1949

| Market | Volume of trade (pesetas) |
|---|---|
| Jbala—Lukkus | |
| Sebt Bani Said | 43,000,000 |
| Tlata Jbil Habib | 89,000,000 |
| Jema Zinat | 80,000,000 |
| Khemis Anjra | 60,000,000 |
| Tnine Sidi Yamani | 117,000,000 |
| Tlata Reisana | 102,000,000 |
| Sebt Bani Gurfat | 82,500,000 |
| Arba Aicha | 68,500,000 |
| Ghmara—Sanhaja as-Srair | |
| Had Bani Dercul | 57,000,000 |
| Tlata Bani Hmid | 84,000,000 |
| Tlata Ktama | 65,000,000 |
| Arba Targist | 166,000,000 |
| Rif—Garet—Gal'aya | |
| Tlata Aith Hadhifa | 88,000,000 |
| Arba Turirth | 122,000,000 |
| Tnine Aith Bu Ayyash | 109,000,000 |
| Tnine Aith Ammarth | 65,000,000 |
| Arba Aith Sidar | 105,000,000 |
| Khemis-Jema Driuch | 138,000,000 |
| Khemis Ain Zorah | 107,000,000 |
| Had-Tlata-Khemis Thimsaman | 240,000,000 |
| Tlata Ikibdhanen | 104,000,000 |
| Had Jbil Arruwi | 101,000,000 |
| Tnine-Khemis Thafarsith | 78,000,000 |
| Khemis Zaio | 90,000,000 |

SOURCE: J. Cabello Alcaraz, *Apuntes de geografía de Marruecos* (Tetuán: Editora Marroquí, 1951), pp. 167–169.

out northern Africa must be described as alarming. In Morocco the mean annual increase is 1.5 per cent. This rapid increase creates serious economic problems, all the more so on account of the youth of the population, of whom 41 per cent are less than fifteen years old.[2] The spread of preventive medicine and the persistence of such social practices as early marriage and easy repudiation of sterile wives accentuate this trend. The cultivated area of northern Morocco has doubled in the last three decades,[3] but many tribes still find it impossible to grow enough food.

[2] Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 81.

[3] *Anuario estadístico, 1952–53*, p. 91, cited in note 1.